

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 12361

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA'S RENUMBERED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS, JA

SUBJ: JAPANESE POSITION ON KOREAN RESOLUTIONS

REF: A) STATE 207698 B) TOKYO 12133

SUMMARY: AT SEPT 3 MEETING

DIRGEN OKAWA OF UN BUREAU AGREED WITH DCM THAT ANY SIGN-OF WEAKNESS OR DISUNITY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES UN OUR POLICIES TOWARD UN-KOREA RESOLUTIONS WOULD SIMPLY ENCOURAGE DPRK INTRANSIGENCE AND UNCREASE CHANCES FOR FAULURE OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION. AMBASSADOR SAITO'S REMARKS, HE SA\$, WERE SIMPLY INTENDED TO WARN JAPANESE PRESS, AND ALSO COUNTRIES FRIENDLY TO ROK, AGAINST COMPLACENCY. OKAWA STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT SAITO HAS NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SEEK MERGER OF THE TWO RESOLUTIONS. WITHUN TACTICAL FRAMEWORK ERECTED IN PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS WITH US, JAPAN SUSPECTS THAT FRIENDLY RESOLUTION'S APPEAL CAN BE ENHANCED. TO THIS END HE HOPES TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE CLARIFICATIONS AND AMENDMENTS DURING CONSULTATIONS WITH USUN SPETEMBER 19. END SUMMARY.

1. DCM CALLED ON NEW DIRGEN OKAWA SEPT 3 TO MAKE DEMARCHE
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OUTLINED REFTELS. IN RESPONSE OKAWA AGREED THAT ANY SIGN OF WEAKNESS OR DISUNITY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES IN OUR POLICIES TOWARD PYE UN RESOLUTIONS ON KOREA WOULD ENCOURAGE DPRK AND INCREASE CHANCES OF FAILURE FOR FRIENDLY

RESOLUTION. ANY COMPROMISE WITH PYONGYANG, OKAWA CONTINUED, IS OUT OF THE QUESTION UNTIL WE OURSELVES HAVE A SOLID POSUTION AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO WORK VERY HARD IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH US. AMBASSADOR SAITO NOT RPT NOT UNSTRUCTED TO SEEK MERGER OF RESOLUTIONS.

2. PYONGYANG'S POSITION HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY RECENT VICTORIES IN SECURITY COUNCIL AND LIMA CONFERENCE OKAWA OBSERVED. FURTHERMORE, NORTH KOREAN'S MEMORANDUM UN SUPPORT OF THEIR RESOLUTION IS WELL DONE AN WILL HAVE AN UMPACT ON FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO ARE NOT THOROUGHLY FAMILAR WITH THE SUBJECT MATTER, UNLESS THE ROKG CA PRODUCE SOON A CAREFULLY THOUGHTOUT POINT-BY-POINT REBUTTAL. ROK REBUTTALS AT 29TH UNGA AND AT LIMA CONFERENCE WERE NEITHER THOROUGH NOR TIMELY. FONOFF PLANS TO PROPOSE TO ROKG THAT REBUTTAL BE PREPARED SOONEST AND TO MAKE SOME SUGGESTIONS ON POINTS IT MIGHT CONTAIN.

3. REGARDING SAITO'S CONTROVERSIAL COMMENTS TO PRESS, OKAWA BELUEVED THAT AMBASSADOR'S BASIC CONERN WAS TO WARN DOMESTIC AUDIENCE AND ROK SUPPORTERS AGAINST COMPLACENCY. SAITO HAD POINTED OUT THAT ADMISSION OF SEVERAL NEW SATES, AND NEW GOVERNMENTS IN LAOS, CAMBODIA AND PORTUGAL, MADE TASK OF SECURING PASSAGE OF FRIENDLY KOREA RESOLUTION MUCH HARDER THIS YEAR. IN REPORTING FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S AUG 26 DIET REMARKS, PRESS HAS BEEN CONFUSED ABOUT TIME CONTEXT FONMUN HAD IN MIND. MIYAZAWA EMPHASIZED THAT ONE OF THE AUMS OF THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS TO ADVANCE OVER THE LONGER TERM THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS BEGUN IN 1972. THE PRESS, SEEKING HEADLINES, JUMPED TO CONCLUSION THAT FONMIN ADVOCATING DIALOGUE IN NEAR TERM. IN CONCLUCSUON, OKAWA SAID HE FELT WASHINGTON'S ANXUETY OVER RECENT GOJ STATEMENTS HAD BEEN UNDERSTANDABLE.

4. OKAWA HAD SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT FRUENDLY RESOLUTION WHICH HE HOPES TO HAVE CLARIFIED AT SEPTEMBER 19 CONSULATIONS. HE KNOWS FOR EXAMPLE THAT HE WILL BE ASKED BY THE DIET WHO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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"PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED" REALLY ARE, AND WHAT "APPROPRIATE ARRANGMENTS" FOR MAINTAINING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT ARE ENVISAGED. HE WONDERED WHETHER UT FEASIBLE FOR ALTERNATIVE ARRANGMENTS TO BE MADE WHICH CAN ENSURE ENFORCEMENT OF -ALL PROVISIONS" OF THE ARMISTCE AGREEMENT NOW THE RESPONSUBILITY OF CINCUNC. OKAWA BELIEVES THAT SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLYSRESOLUTION CAN BE UNCRASED UF THESE AND OTHER AMBUGUITIES CLARIFIED. GOJ WILL MAKE SOME PROPOSALS IN NEW YORK FOR WORDING CHANGES DESIGNED TO BROADEN APPEAL OF RESOLUTION.

5. OKAWA EXPRESSED FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEW THAT EFFORT TO LINK/ROK UN MEMBERSHUP WUTH ANY UNGA RESOLUTION AKSUNG SC TO RECONSIDER MEMBERSHIP OF NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM WOULD

FAIL. A THURD DEFEAT FOR THE ROK (AFTER THE SC AND LIMA) WOULD BE A HEAVY BLOW FOR THE ROK CAUSE AND PROBABLY WOULD PROVE FATAL FOR FRIENDLY RESOLUTION. REGARDING 1ST COMMITTEE ACTUON ON FREINDLY RESOLUTION, THE JAPANESE ARE UNCLINED TO SEE TIME ON THE SDE OF THE NORTH KOREANS. HOWEVER, THEY WONDERED ALOUD IF FATE OF TWO RESOLUTIONS WERE STILL UN DOUBT AT TIME OF PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO PEKING, MIGHT AN APPEAL TO CHINESE FOR HELP TOWARD COMPROMISE BEAR FRUIT? THE DCM THOUGHT THAT WAS VERY DOUBTFUL: ON ONE HAND THE CHINESE EXPECT US FORCES TO REMAIN UN SOUTH KOREA WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE UN FIGHT, AND ON THE OTHER, THEIR COMPETITION WUTH THE SOVIETS SEVERELY INHIBUTS THEM FROM TRYING TO PRESSURE PYONGYANG.

6. OKAWA MENTIONED IN CLOSING THAT PRESS OF DIET BUSINESS WILL MOST LUKELY NOT PERMIT FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA TO LEAVE FOR NEW YORK BEFORE, AT EARLIEST, EVENUNG OF SEPTEMBER 20.

7. COMMENT: CONVERSATIONSWITH OKAWA BALANCES PREVIOUS IMPRESSION THAT JAPANESE SLIDINGSAWAY FROM US ON POLICY TOWARD KOREAN ISSUE (REF B). WE WERE ECNOURAGED BY STRESS HE PLACED ON NEED FOR SOLID FRONT, BY FACT HE DID NOT MENTION LINE THAT SEARCH FOR DIALOGUE WUTH OPPONENTS COMPATIBLE WITH CURRENT EFFORTS TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLY RESOLUTION, AND BY HUS EXPLANATIONS OF SAITO AND MIYAZAWA STATEMENTS MORE AS PRODUCTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES THAN SIGNS OF POLICY DUVERGENCY WUTH THE UNITED STATES. CONFIDENTIAL

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8. AT THE SAME TUME, WE BELIEVE THAT QUICK US REACTION TO APPARENT EVIDENCE OF JAPANESE WAVERINGSMAY HAVE MADE GOJ MORE SENSITIVE TO THE WAY ITS STATEMENT AT HOME SOUND ABROAD. MORE THAN THAT, GOJ LIKELY AS RESULT TO BE MORE CIRCUMSPECT ABOUT FOLLOWING TENDENCY TO SEEK COMPROMISE IN UN ON KOREAN USSUE, AT LEAST UNTUL BATTLELINES CLEARLY FORMED. HODGSON

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